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## A BUFFALO SWEATLODGE

By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL

IN September, 1906, I witnessed the ceremonial construction of a sweathouse,<sup>1</sup> which preceded the unwrapping of *İssı wūn*, the sacred hat of the Cheyenne, by Wounded Eye, its keeper.

The ceremony was spoken of as a buffalo ceremony. Wounded Eye and his wife, who took the chief parts, represented the buffalo bull and cow, and a little girl, eight or ten years old, daughter of Squint Eye, represented the buffalo calf—a yellow calf of the past spring. The little girl was ill—suffering from tuberculosis—and the ceremony was performed that she might be restored to health.<sup>2</sup> The sweatlodge was built in the Rosebud bottom, not far from the lodge of Wounded Eye, in which the sacred hat was kept. Its construction occupied practically the whole day, about nine or ten hours.

The various ceremonial acts were performed with great deliberation and much detail, and with what seems, when written out, an endless amount of repetition. Something like twenty distinct and elaborate operations were undertaken and completed before the sweathouse was ready for the use for which it was erected.

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### <sup>1</sup> ORDER OF OPERATIONS IN BUILDING THIS SWEATLODGE

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| 1. Excavating for hot stones.               | 12. Laying up the wood for fire.                                  |
| 2. Making the earth pile.                   | 13. Painting the stones for heating.                              |
| 3. Digging holes for the frame.             | 14. Placing the stones for heating.                               |
| 4. Planting the willows for frame.          | 15. Taking the pipe to the sweatlodge.                            |
| 5. Completing the frame.                    | 16. Bringing offerings to sweatlodge.                             |
| 6. Painting the frame.                      | 17. Preparing place for the pipe.                                 |
| 7. Placing the buffalo skull in position.   | 18. Cleaning the straight pipe before skull.                      |
| 8. Painting the buffalo skull.              | 19. The sacrifice to the four directions, <i>Niv' stān i wó</i> . |
| 9. Covering the sweatlodge.                 | 20. Lighting the fire for the stones.                             |
| 10. Spreading the sage stem floor covering. | 21. Preparing for the sweat.                                      |
| 11. Painting the wood for fire.             |   |

<sup>2</sup> She lived for about three years after these ceremonies and then died of tuberculosis. At her request her little dog and her saddle pony were killed at her grave, so that they might go with her.

Among the Cheyenne the mystery man, or priest, who has charge of an important ceremony, does not himself always—perhaps not even often—actually carry out the operations of the ceremony which is under his charge. In connection with each part of the ceremony he performs some act which stands for or represents the operation that is really to be done, and then the actual operation is, or may be, performed by assistants, who, themselves knowing what the ritual requires, complete the operation for which the priest is responsible and which he himself has ceremonially performed.

Many or most solemn, mysterious or religious ceremonies are preceded by formal acts which appear to have the purpose of purification and suggest the same object that is attained by the burning of sweet grass or sweet pine, or the wiping off the body or a part of it by a wisp of white sage. The purpose of such acts is in part protective.

Tied to the corner of the buffalo robe he wears, the presiding priest usually has a little piece of sweet root—the plant from which the Cheyenne Culture Hero's name is taken, and into whose shape he is said to have transformed himself. When about to perform some important or solemn act, as the taking in his hands a ceremonial object, or applying sacred paint, the priest bites off a bit of the sweet root, chews it fine and placing his hands together, palms upward, fingers extending to the front, blows this finely divided root at five points on the palms—the base of the left thumb, base of the left forefinger, base of the right forefinger, base of the right thumb, and then at the point where the hands come together, about halfway from the tip of little finger to the wrist; in other words, in the four directions and in the middle. Then rubbing the palms together, he passes the right hand over the right leg from ankle to thigh, the left hand over the right arm from wrist to shoulder, the right hand over the left arm from shoulder to wrist, and the left hand over the left leg from hip to ankle. The two hands, palms down and fingers pointing backward, are then placed on the head and moved apart from the middle line down over the sides of the head and ears. Sometimes after doing this the hands are rested on the chest, the right hand usually above the left. In

the same way the priest, to prepare others for some solemn act, may blow on their hands and they then make the motions.

Sweet root may not always be available and the motions are frequently made without its use and consist merely of holding the hands in the proper position, blowing at the required points and passing the hands over legs, arms, and head. These motions so often repeated will be spoken of as the ceremonial motions.

The mysterious significance of the sweatlodge is hidden from most of us and in fact much of it has probably been forgotten even by those most concerned in the important ceremony. We may feel sure, however, that almost everything connected with the construction of the sweatlodge and with its use has a meaning, if only this could be learned. Left Hand Bull, an aged priest, now dead, gave Mr. R. Petter, whose knowledge of Cheyenne matters is so great, interesting hints on the symbolism of some of these matters. It is believed that the sun, shining for many years on the wood which is used in the fire to heat the stones for the sweatlodge, has imparted to that wood much of its power and life. The fire as it heats the stones, transmits to them the sun's power which has been stored up in the wood. When these hot stones are brought into the sweatlodge and water is sprinkled on them, the vapor given off from the hot stones carries with it this sun power which envelops and is inhaled by those who sit in the sweatlodge. The vapor thus reaches every part of the individual, within and without. It is even felt that the fire in which the stones are heated represents the sun as a center of heat. The skull of the buffalo bull, representing food and also generative power and the path from it into the sweatlodge, and the path through the fire into the sweatlodge, all symbolize the life producing power of the sun. In fact, fire and the burning of vegetable substances have an important part in all Cheyenne ceremonies. The burning of fragrant herbs—as sweet grass, sweet pine—is done in order to set free certain wholesome plant influences which have a medicinal as well as a purifying effect on whatever is held in the smoke which rises. These helpful influences are from the sun, which has caused these plants to grow.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I believe this thought to be common to other plains tribes and it probably has a

Like many other spiritual beliefs this is hard to define but the general thought is as here expressed.

In the Rosebud bottom facing east, in a little grassy meadow sat side by side a line of five women and a little girl and four men. At the north end of the line sat four women, then the little girl, and south of her, another woman, Wounded Eye's wife, and then four men.

A short distance south and a little east of the line Wounded Eye sat on the ground. He was naked except for moccasins and breech-clout, painted red all over his body, with a black crescent on his right shoulderblade, narrow black rings about ankles and wrists, a black horizontal line over the forehead, and a vertical line down the middle of the face over the nose to chin. There was a black disc on each cheek before and below the ear and a black tear mark below each eye. Just behind and to the south of where Wounded Eye was sitting was a small fire built by Bull Thigh.

Wounded Eye's wife was naked to the waist, red painted over her whole body, with a white crescent just within the right shoulderblade and a white disc representing the sun in front of each ear. South of this woman sat Wolf Chief, the instructor, wearing a buffalo robe, hair side out. The little girl was naked to the waist, as was also the wife and helper of the instructor—called the instructress. The first operation was the preparation of the excavation to receive the heated stones for the sweatlodge.

The wife of Wounded Eye, Wounded Eye, the instructress, and the little girl, stood in front of Wolf Chief, the instructor, who blew ceremonially on the hands of the four who made the ceremonial motions, and then the four, with four motions, grasped a new axe, carried it, the head directed forward, about twenty steps to the east and then very slowly and with four motions, the blade was lowered to the ground and a line in the sod was cut from north to south on the east side of the place where the hot stones were to be placed. This done they walked around this place west, north, east, and south to the south end of the line just cut, and with four motions

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part in the sacredness of smoking. Hints of the feeling are often found in the tales, in which persons are advised to offer the smoke of tobacco to the great powers because it is pleasant to them.

lowering the axe to the ground, with four motions cut a line of sod from east to west at right angles to the first line. Again, they walked around the place and when they reached the end of the line last cut they ceremonially cut a north and south line on the west side, and then having again walked around the place they cut the east and west line on the north side, and walked south and west and returned to their places in the line and sat down. A man with an axe proceeded to complete the lines that they had ceremonially cut and divided the rectangle of sod into four pieces by lines running north and south and east and west.

A man approached from the stream on the north side, bringing an armful of long willow twigs, to be used to form the frame of the sweathouse, and at the same time another man approached from the south carrying in his arms a bundle of stems of white sage.

After the ceremonial cutting of the sod, there was a long wait. At length the same four individuals, after the ceremonial motions had been made, set out and marched around on the north and to the east of the place that was being prepared and there the women very carefully and reverently removed from the hole the pieces of loosened sod and earth. Wounded Eye, the instructress, and the little girl placed their hands on that of the wife of Wounded Eye and guided her hand with four motions toward the piece of sod or the handful of earth which she picked up. A buffalo robe had been brought up and spread on the ground east of the hole and on this the four pieces of sod and four handfuls of earth were placed. This completed the ceremonial digging. The four individuals returned to their places in the line and a man, without further ceremony, completed the rectangular hole, piling the earth on the robe. When this had been done, Wounded Eye, his wife, and the instructress performed the ceremonial motions, went out around the hole on the north, approached the robe from the same side, lifted its border and bent it over the earth, and let it drop back. This was repeated at the east, south, and west side of the robe. After this the three grasped the edge of the robe on the side away from the hole—on the east—and dragged the robe over the ground about twenty yards a little south of east, where it was tipped up and the earth emptied in a pile. They then returned to their places.

A man brought a wisp of white sage to Wolf Chief's wife who passed it ceremonially over the child's head from in front backward, then over the breast, belly, back, and shoulders, and the left side and the top of the head. The child then rose and backing out of the line went to the camp.

During these ceremonies a man had been engaged in trimming the willows for the sweatlodge frame. He cut off from the main stems all the twigs and branches, except the last slender leafy stems at the extreme end of each shoot, which would be used to tie the ends of the willows together. From time to time, smoking took place, the men using an ordinary red stone pipe. After lighting, it was pointed as usual to the four directions, then to the sweatlodge and last up and down.

From a distance American Horse brought on his back, with a rope, two loads of wood for the fire to be used in heating the stones, while two young men brought stones for the sweatlodge. Of these there were three large back loads.

When all the earth had been removed from the excavation that was to hold the hot stones, it was piled with the other earth that had come from the same place. The location of the pile did not seem quite satisfactory, and presently it was moved a little to make it stand almost exactly southeast of the sweatlodge.

A man brought up a buffalo skull and placed it on its face, nose pointing southeast on the ground southeast of the earth pile. Wounded Eye's wife rose and offered her hands to the instructor. The ceremonial motions were performed, and the wife, with the instructress and Wounded Eye, carrying a four foot stick, walked from the line northeast, and east, passing north of where the sweatlodge was to stand, and then south, around the earth pile and the skull and back near to the excavation for the stones. Here Wounded Eye's wife with the stick touched the ground on the south side. They then walked around the excavation, southeast around the skull and earth pile and back to the hole for the stones, where with the stick she touched the ground on the west side. Repeating this a third time she touched the ground on the east side and at the fourth round touched the ground on the north side, and

finally, at a fifth round, with four motions, she touched the ground in the center, within the hole. The stick represented, and probably was, a root digger.

The stick was then carried back and placed on the ground south of the earth pile and the skull, and the three returned to their places in the line.

This operation was the ceremonial digging of the holes in which the willow shoots for the sweatlodge frame were to be planted, and with iron bars two men began to make the holes without ceremony.

Soon the man who had brought up and was preparing the willow shoots carried five of these from the pile near to where the sweatlodge was to stand and placed them on the ground with the butts toward the hole for the hot stones. The ceremonial motions were performed on the hands of Wounded Eye's wife and the same three people, instructress, wife, and Wounded Eye, in that order—walked out north, east, south around the place for the sweatlodge and the earth pile and skull and back to the southernmost of the five willow shoots there lying on the ground. With four motions the wife picked up that willow shoot, they walked around the sweatlodge and the earth pile and skull and back to the sweatlodge, and placed the willow on the ground with its butt close to one of the holes dug with a bar on the east side of the sweatlodge. The same thing was done with a second willow, which was taken up with four motions and placed on the ground by one of the holes to the westward. In the same way a third willow was put down on the west side of the sweatlodge, but in this case the four motions were not made before lifting it. In the case of the next willow the instructress took Wounded Eye's hand with four motions before grasping it, and caused him to make four motions before taking hold of the willow and four motions before lifting it up. Then the willow, after the usual passage around sweatlodge and earth pile, was placed at one of the holes to the east.

The instructress now led Wounded Eye and his wife to Wolf Chief, and after the ceremonial motions had been made they walked back to the sweathouse and the wife with four motions lifted up



the first willow—the southernmost of the two to the east—and planted it by thrusting its butt into the hole already made. The first willow was inserted to the sunrise. The second was planted in the same way to the west, to the sunset. Then another was put in on the west, to the sunset and the next one to the east to the sunrise. The three now walked southeast about the earth pile and skull and back to the sweatlodge, and with four lifting motions took up the fifth willow, carried it around the sweatlodge and the earth pile and with four motions planted it at the south border of the sweatlodge. They then walked around the sweatlodge and the earth pile and returned to their places. The two willows to the southeast represented the door. Wounded Eye's wife planted the southerly willow on east and west and Wounded Eye the northerly willows on west and east, and the three persons the willow to the south.

The remaining willows were now planted by assistants without ceremony. The shoots were left standing upright.

The instructress stood before Wolf Chief and the ceremonial motions were performed. The three persons walked around to the north around the sweatlodge and skull and earth pile, returned to the east willows and bent them in toward the excavation and then walked around to the two west willows and bent them in toward the east willows, and then around the sweatlodge and the earth pile and back to the south willow and bent it in and over the ground covered by the sweatlodge and then walked around the sweatlodge and earth pile and returned to their places. The two assistants who were doing the non-ceremonial work stood before Wolf Chief and performed the ceremonial motions. They walked to the sweatlodge and brought together first the east and west willows standing to the south and fastened them together and then the east and west willows to the north and fastened them together, and then continued the work by planting in the ground and tying them the remaining willows until they had completed the sweatlodge frame. While working, these two men received frequent directions from Wounded Eye. The ends of the willows are tied together with sinews, of which Old Bull and Three Fingers held several strands in the mouth.

There were sixteen willows. The two assistants when their work was done sat on the ground to the right of Wounded Eye.

In a short time the instructress, Wounded Eye, and wife presented themselves before the instructor; the usual ceremony was performed and the three went around to the east side of the sweatlodge.. Wounded Eye carried a sack of black paint and his wife one of red paint.. The three sat down on the southeast side of the sweatlodge, where the instructress painted the woman's hands with red paint. Wounded Eye's wife rubbed her hands over the southerly of the two eastern willows, painting from below upward. Passing around the sweatlodge she painted the southernmost of the two westerly willows, the one meeting that just painted on the east side. In the same way Wounded Eye with black paint painted the northernmost of the two westerly willows and then passing around to the north the northernmost of the two easterly willows. When this painting was completed the three walked from the sweatlodge around the earth pile and back to the sweatlodge, where the wife, with four motions painted the southerly willow red, while Wounded Eye walked around west and north and painted the northerly one black. Then without ceremony the wife painted all the willows on the south side red, and Wounded Eye painted black all those on the north side. The instructress stood off to one side and watched the operation. Wounded Eye's wife wore moccasins and about her waist were belted two blankets, reaching to the knees. When the painting was completed the three walked around the sweatlodge and the earth pile and returned to their places in the line.

The instructress, Wounded Eye and his wife, who now wore a buffalo robe, stood before the instructor and the ceremonial motions were performed. The three walked about the sweatlodge and to the skull, which the instructress very slowly and carefully turned over so that it was right side up. The wife and Wounded Eye passed around the instructress from left to right and the instructress and the man took the wife's hands and very slowly and with four motions caused her to grasp the skull by the base of the horns. With four motions it was lifted and very slowly and reverently moved forward over the earth pile, and with four motions deposited

on the northwestern side of the earth pile, the nose pointing to the sweatlodge. The instructress walked out in front of it and looked at it, to see if its position was correct, and after a pause, the wife walked to her side and Wounded Eye came up to the side of his wife, who thus stood between the two. They grasped her hands, and with four motions caused her to move a corner of her robe—representing the buffalo's left forefoot—with four motions, twice down on each side of the middle line of the face and once down the middle line. They then returned to their places in the line. Meantime, a pile of robes had been spread on the ground south of the sweatlodge.

The three presented themselves for the ceremony, and when it was over, walked around the sweatlodge, to and around the skull and back to the pile of robes. With four motions they picked up a robe and carried it around the sweatlodge and skull back to the door of the sweatlodge and put it down there. They repeated this, carrying a second to the west side and leaving it, and again a third to the west side north of the previous one, and leaving it, and putting another on the ground beside the northernmost of the easterly willows, and still another opposite the more southerly eastern willow. When the last robe was to be taken up the instructress held Wounded Eye's hands and caused him to make four motions before taking it up. This robe was put down to the south of the easterly ones, about at the south willow. Then they returned around the sweatlodge and the skull to their places.

Again rising, they stood before Wolf Chief, the ceremony was performed, and they walked out, and faced the sweatlodge, looking northeast, and stood there praying, and then passed around the sweatlodge to the robe opposite the more southerly of the easterly willows, picked it up from the ground and placed it the long way horizontally against the willows of the sweatlodge. They did this with all the others in order, except the westernmost of all, which they passed by. Afterward Wounded Eye took his wife's hand, caused her to grasp and take up with four motions this robe and to carry it around the sweatlodge, then to the east of the skull, pass it the long way over the skull, take it to the door of the sweat-

lodge, pass it into the hole above the door, take it out by the door, and finally spread it over the frame. They passed around the sweatlodge and skull and returned to their places. This ceremonial covering was very imperfectly done and was finished by the assistants, who by means of quilts and wagon sheets completed the covering, working from the east to south, to west, to north, and to east. Wounded Eye took a pipe to his wife and went to the fire and brought a coal to her in a willow hoop. She smoked.

After the two assistants had presented themselves to the instructor and performed the ceremonial motions, they went to the pile of sage stems and began to carry them to the sweatlodge, one going directly to the south side of the door, the other passing around behind the sweatlodge, for the door of the sweatlodge might not be crossed. Wounded Eye rose from his place and went over to the door, following Old Bull who entered the sweatlodge.

Wounded Eye went in after him to direct the spreading of the sage on the floor. Three Fingers also entered. Wounded Eye came out, walked to and around the skull and returned to his place. By this time all the sage had been taken into the sweatlodge and was being spread on the ground.

Presently, Old Bull left the sweatlodge and went to the instructor, who, taking a bite of the root, went through the ceremonial formula. After Old Bull had performed the motions he went to the pile of firewood, took a number of sticks and carried them to a point about ten paces from the door of the sweatlodge and left them there. The instructress, Wounded Eye, and his wife, went to the instructor and the ceremonial motions were performed. The wife carried a sack of red paint and Wounded Eye one of black paint. In single file and in the usual order they walked around the sweatlodge and skull and to and around the pile of firewood. The instructress, with four motions, put on the hand of the wife four pinches of paint, and the wife painted a stick of wood red. Then Wounded Eye painted a stick black. They did this from the east and again from the south, and then walked around the wood and returned to the instructor, who again went through the ceremonial motions. The three walked around the wood on the north side and

from the east side with four motions picked up a stick, which they carried around the wood and placed on the ground on the south side. Walking on around the wood each picked up another stick and carried it once and a half around the wood and put it down on the west side. They took a stick from the south, carried it around the wood and put it down on the north side; took another from the southeast, carried it around two and one half times and put it down on the northeast side; took one from the east and put it down on the west side, walked around the wood and back to their places.

Old Bull now began to lay up the fire without ceremony.

When the wood was laid up he went to the instructor, who performed the ceremonial motions, and Old Bull, going to the pile of stones, carried one after another, five stones over to the laid-up wood, and slowly and carefully put them on the ground on the south side of the wood.

The instructress, Wounded Eye and his wife went to the instructor, the ceremonial motions were performed, and they went to the stones to paint them. The instructress put paint on the hands, they approached their hands to the stones very slowly with four motions, and then seemed to grasp them, applying the paint. They faced northeast, then walked about the laid-up wood and returned to the instructor, who performed the ceremonial motions with the two women, but Wounded Eye blew on his hands himself. Again, they walked around the fire to the stones, approaching them from the southeast, with four motions picked up a stone, carried it about the fire and put it on the wood from the northeast. Keeping on around the fire they picked up another stone and put it on the wood from the south. Taking up another they walked about the fire and put it on from the southeast and another was put on from the west, always walking around the fire. Another was put down from the southwest with four motions.

Old Bull presented himself to the instructor and the ceremonial operations were repeated. He and Three Fingers carried over the rest of the stones and piled them on the wood with the stones that had been ceremonially placed. They then carried over the rest of the wood and piled it over the stones.

Wounded Eye's wife and the instructor rose from their sitting position, drew their robes about them, and standing on the knees, as the woman held out her hands to him, the ceremonial motions were performed and he handed her a pipe which she carried to the sweatlodge, he following her. Both entered and a few moments later most of those in the line followed and entered the sweatlodge. A little later three women were called up by Bull Thigh and the covering of the sweatlodge on the east was raised.

From the camp women came, carrying backloads of presents—quilts, parfleches, calico dresses, a gun. The coverings of the sweatlodge were now still further raised and some of the women on the outside put their heads into the sweatlodge. Praying and singing were heard in which the women joined. The songs were in a minor key and had in them a suggestion of mourning. After the songs and prayers had ended the women withdrew and Wounded Eye's wife came out. The presents were spread over the sweatlodge—many long pieces of calico reaching over from the ground on one side to that on the other. Over these were spread quilts and blankets, while the parfleches were put about the ground close about the sweatlodge.

After an hour Wounded Eye left the sweatlodge and a few minutes later his wife entered it, but at the door she dropped her blanket—exposing a short gray blanket, doubled about her waist and reaching to her knees—and about each thigh as close as possible to the body she tied a protective string. Then she put about her waist the outer blanket, which came down a little below the knees, and entered the sweatlodge. Five or six women now went to the sweatlodge; the coverings near the door were raised and praying and singing were again heard. After half or three-quarters of an hour the women left the sweatlodge, Wounded Eye's wife came out and walked around the skull and to her place, taking off the protective strings as she walked. They seemed about four feet long. Women were sent for food, which was brought halfway from the sitting line to the sweatlodge and left there. Wounded Eye's wife and the instructress were called to the door of the sweatlodge and stood there for a time. Someone was conversing with

them. Then they walked from the sweatlodge door to the nose of the buffalo skull, knelt in front of it and smoothed a circular space on the ground on which to put down the pipe, and then returned to their places in the line.

Wounded Eye's wife went to the door of the sweatlodge and there received a straight pipe which she carried to the skull and standing in front of it, cleaned the pipe, emptying the ashes on the smoothed place before the nose. She walked around the skull and returned to her place in the line. Much food was brought up and left near the sweatlodge by women who hitherto had not appeared. A little later the food was handed in. All the persons in the line now went over to the sweatlodge to pray, and prayers and songs were heard. After a considerable time the women left the sweatlodge and finally Wounded Eye's wife emerged, walked south around the skull and returned to her place in the line.

After a time during which the men smoked, Wounded Eye's wife left her place in the line, walked around the sweatlodge, received the straight pipe, took it to the skull, cleaned it there and emptied the ashes on the smooth place before the nose, walked around the skull, returned the pipe to the door of the sweatlodge and then went back to her place.

Wounded Eye now emerged from the sweatlodge and made the ceremonial sacrifice to the four directions, *ní'v stǎn ǝ vo'*. The first offering was around the sweatlodge, a bit of meat being sacrificed to each of the four directions in the usual order and the fifth piece of meat placed on top of the sweatlodge. He repeated this about the laid-up fire, placing the last sacrifice on top of the pile of sticks and made offerings about the place where the pipe had been cleaned—which represented the earth—and about the skull—to the buffalo—touching the ground in the four directions, and leaving the last sacrifice in front of the buffalo's nose. A sacrifice was made from each dish of food, and in cases where this was fluid the sacrifice was offered by dipping into the food a sprig of sage, and touching the ground with it in the four directions and in the center. After the required sacrifices had been made Wounded Eye walked around the sweatlodge and entered it from the south side.

Food was now distributed and by various women was taken to each of the groups of people sitting about. The fire to heat the stones had not yet been lighted. The instructress caused the wife to take a brand from the burning fire and approaching the unlighted pile to hold the brand toward it at the east, south, west and north, and then over the top. The brand was lowered toward the top of the pile four times. Then the women walked around the earth pile and returned to their places. The fire having thus been ceremonially lighted, Wounded Eye went to the stream and returning with a bunch of rye grass, held this in the actual fire till it flamed and lighted the pile of wood for the stones, blowing the new fire through a pipe stem which he afterward handed to Bull Thigh. By this time the people who had received the food and the presents had dispersed and only the instructress, Wounded Eye's wife and a woman and child remained sitting in the line. Wounded Eye's wife walked around the sweatlodge to the door, took the pipe and cleaned it before the bull's skull, and presently the men came out of the sweatlodge and dispersed, only Wounded Eye, Bull Thigh, and another remaining by the sweatlodge. Presently, the men returned, some wearing only a blanket and others trousers. They removed their clothing on the north side of the sweatlodge and one by one entered it not long after the sun had set.

The sweatlodge had been built with due ceremony and they were now about to take their sweat. The sacred hat is said to have been unwrapped later in the night.

The songs sung in this sweatlodge are the songs belonging to the buffalo man, and, as already remarked, the chief actors represent a buffalo bull, cow, and calf.

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